Workers of the World, Unite !

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The Stalinist Persecution of Warren Billings

By George Clarke

An item in last week's **Militant** reporting the convention of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union in San Francisco gave us our first inkling of a shameful, scandalous tale of persecution of a man who has already suffered his full share of persecution at the hands of the capitalist government. It concerns Warren K. Billings.

Ten years ago Billings emerged from Folsom prison in California where he together with Tom Mooney had been railroaded for life for a crime they did not commit. The story of how he and Tom Mooney were framed up for the "Preparedness Day" dynamiting in 1916 is too well known to militant American workers to need repetition. They know this case because for twenty years they, and workers of all countries, carried on an unrelenting struggle until the prison doors swung open and Mooney and Billings were again free men.

What is not known, except in certain labor circles in San Francisco, is the ugly sequel to this story. Upon his release from prison, Billings set up a watch-repair shop to make his living at a trade he had learned while behind bars. To obtain customers in the labor movement and particularly among its more radical elements, Billings, although not a Stalinist, advertised his business in the **People's World**, the daily Stalinist paper on the West Coast. The ad appeared daily for some nine years when Billings committed his second "crime."

Last year a committee was organized to defend Vern Smith, the former editor of the **People's World** who had been cited for contempt by the Tenney Committee, an Un-American Committee set up by the California legislature. Billings accepted as chairman of the defense committee.

In the eyes of the Stalinists this was an unpardonable act — as unpardonable as the attempt of Mooney and Billings to organize the street railway workers in 1916 had been to the San Francisco traction trust.

Vern Smith, you see, had previously been expelled from the Communist Party for assorted "deviations" and "factionalism." Billings was promptly and cruelly, punished for daring to defend someone who had differences with the Stalinist hacks.

STALINIST BOYCOTT

The entire Stalinist apparatus was set into motion to "get Billings." The People's World cancelled his ad. Members of the Communist Party were threatened with expulsion if they continued to patronize his shop. The boycott was completely successful. Billings was compelled to close down his shop and move to Burlingame, a small town some 25 miles from San Francisco.

Billings paid with his livelihood for his devotion to the principle of labor solidarity to all victims

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Warren Billings (right), famous fellow-prisoner of Tom Mooney, is shown above with George Novack. Billings, after suffering decades in prison because of capitalist persecution, is now being persecuted by the Communist Party because of his support of working class solidarity.

Unemployment At Highest Peak In Seven Years

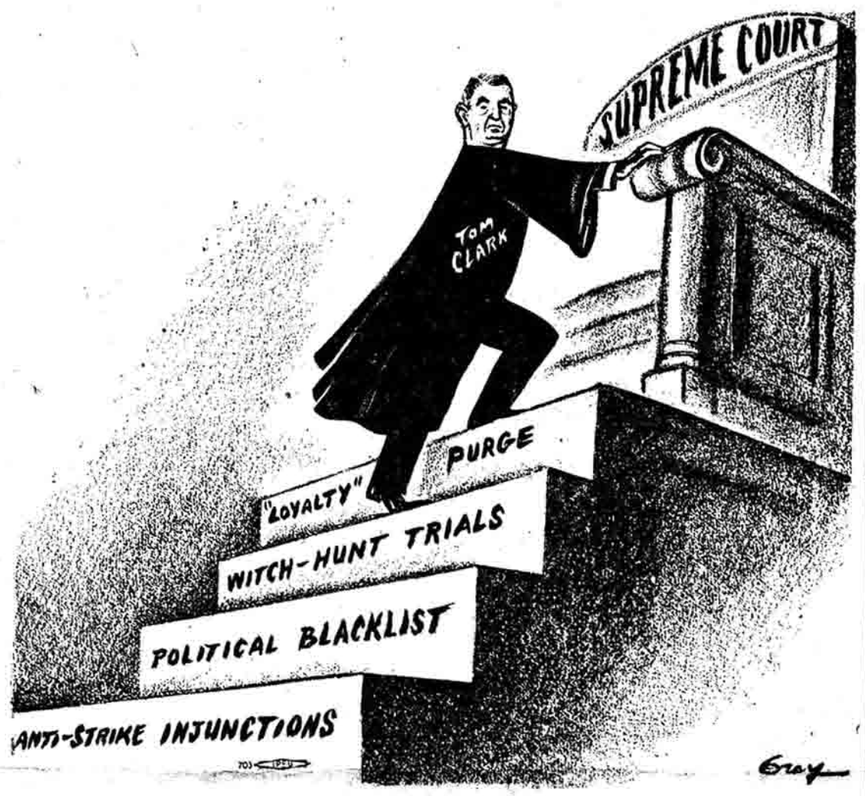
The Census Bureau has acknowledged that by the first week in July, the number of jobless had passed the four-million mark. The estimated figure of 4,095,000 is the highest since January 1942.

More significant is the rate of increase. In the last two months — June and July — the number of unemployed has swollen, according to official admission, by not less than 806,000 since May when there were 3,289,000 million unemployed. Or an increase of almost 25% in the last 60 days.

Dropping the previous pretense that the bulk of increase is due to "entry of young people" into the labor force, Washington now admits that "adult workers accounted for most of the increase in July."

SWP Demands Senate Reject Clark Nomination

Success Story



Civil Rights Enemy Must Be Barred from Supreme Court

President Truman's nomination of Tom C. Clark to the post of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court was strongly protested by the Socialist Workers Party in a telegram to the Senate Judiciary Committee on Aug. 2.

Denouncing the nomination of Clark as "one more blow against civil rights," the SWP called on the U. S. Senate to vote it down. It also asked for open hearings and the opportunity for the SWP to testify against Clark.

If any individual is disqualified and barred by his entire record from sitting on the highest judicial body of the land, it is this oil lawyer from Texas who has for the last four years so grossly abused the powers of U. S. Attorney General.

A MONSTROUS RECORD

Under Clark the Department of Justice has been converted into a strikebreaking agency through the use of federal injunctions and multi-million dollar fines against unions. Clark's most notorious achievement in this field was his ferocious attack on the 1946 coal strike.

Under Clark the Department of Justice has served as the main vehicle for carrying out the "loyalty" purge among more than two million federal employees.

Under Clark the Department of Justice has instituted the fascist-like practice of issuing political blacklists, depriving the proscribed organizations of the right to be granted a hearing, refusing even to inform them of the grounds on which such action was taken.

Under Clark the Department of Justice has become the central agency for propagating red-baiting hysteria and spy scares, for staging thought-control trials, and for organizing a huge network of FBI police spies and informers operating within the labor and political movements.

Under Clark the Department of Justice has failed to lift a finger against the Ku Klux terror and violence visited against the Negro people

For persecution and wholesale deportations of the foreign-born, Clark's regime is comparable only to that of the infamous Palmer who conducted the "anti-radical" raids in the Twenties.

PREJUDGMENT

Hundreds of cases involving alien deportations, "loyalty" purges like the Kutcher case, the blacklist persecutions and numerous other violations of civil rights by the government will undoubtedly come up before the Supreme Court for final decision. Clark's appointment is tantamount to a prejudgment in all such cases.

Professor Thomas I. Emerson of Yale, an eminent authority on constitutional law, has correctly pointed out that "the American tradition of civil rights" will be jeopardized whether Clark sits in judgment or disqualifies himself in those cases which he himself prosecuted.

Split "five - to - four" decisions, especially in civil liberties cases, have been the rule in recent years. Clark's vote can therefore easily prove decisive. Even if he would disqualify himself in such cases, every split decision resulting in a "four-to-four" deadlock would uphold convictions gained in lower courts.

BAD ENOUGH BEFORE

The Supreme Court was bad enough before. With the addition of Clark, who is the most prominent symbol of the government's war on civil rights, there will be as little protection for the Bill of Rights from that body as there has been in the Department of Justice.

The Senate has the power to confirm or reject Truman's nomination of Clark. His confirmation would be a blow to the fight to preserve our precious democratic rights; his rejection would be a black eye to the witch-hunt as a whole. The chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee has indicated that so far as the Senate is concerned, Clark's confirmation will be a cut-and-dried procedure. This cynical endorsement of the assault on civil rights can be stopped only by the mobilization of labor, Negro and liberal forces around the demand that the Senate repudiate the witch-hunt by spurning its chief symbol.

Truman Pays For Services Rendered

Truman's nomination of Tom Clark for Supreme Court is a reward, in part, for the Attorney General's refusal to take action in the 1946 Kansas City, Missouri, vote-fraud involving the Pendergast machine. The ballots constituting the evidence were stolen from the New Madrid County courthouse 24 hours before Clark was scheduled to testify at a Senate hearing on his whitewash of the fraud. He then announced an FBI "investigation."

PROTESTANTS IN ITALY OPPRESSED, IMPRISONED

Truman, the U. S. State Department, Cardinal Spellman and the capitalist press are keeping stony silence about the increasing brutal persecution of Protestants by the Vatican-dominated government of Italy.

They are ignoring the direct appeal of the Italian Baptists Union for intercession on behalf of Giuseppe Gasbarro, 30-year-old acting pastor of the Baptist Church in the town of San Gregorio Magna, who was arrested on July 24 while he was conducting church services.

Gasbarro, who has been pastor at the 50-year-old church for a year, was imprisoned on the charge of conducting religious services without obtaining government "recognition," as provided by a fascist law passed in 1929 after the Vatican signed its concordat with Mussolini. Although the new Italian constitution claims to provide freedom of religion, the old fascist law is still in effect.

POLICE INTERFERENCE

In the past three months, police of the Christian Democratic (Catholic) government of Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi have invaded and broken up a number of Pentecostal religious services. But the arrest of Gasbarro was the first open interference with the Baptists, one of the "authorized" Protestant sects in Italy. The Pentecostals are not "authorized."

Dr. Manfredi Ronchi, executive secretary of the Union of Baptist Churches in Italy with about 10,000 members, demanded Gasborro's release in a telegram to de Gasperi and Interior Minister Mario Scelba, head of the Italian police. He also wired U. S. Ambassador James Dunn, asking his intercession and emphasizing that Gasbarro's "only crime was preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ." **But in "democratic" Italy, Atlantic Pact partner of Washington, only the Catholic priests are permitted to conduct religious functions without government "authorization."**

FASCIST LAW

Dr. Ronchi said that the arrest of Gasbarro was inspired by the Catholic bishop of Battipaglia, in Salerno province, who had sent agents into all areas of his province to agitate against non-Catholic sects. He said the fascist law was originally intended to apply to non-Catholic clergymen who wanted to perform marriage ceremonies in accordance with civil law. The arrest of Gasbarro, he said, was based on a new interpretation of the law.

The only two papers in Rome which published news of Gasbarro's arrest were the Socialist **Avanti** and **Il Paese**. The Stalinist **L'Unità** ignored the story because it is trying to avoid further friction with the Catholic Church.

News of the Gasbarro case was contained in a small article from Rome in the July 28 Chicago Tribune. Other major U. S. newspapers and press services, which have been howling so much about "freedom of religion" in Eastern Europe, have buried this story about anti-Protestant persecution by a Catholic government financed with American money.

War Hysteria Stirred Up At House Arms Hearings

The war drums were beaten openly and shamelessly by Secretary of State Dean Acheson and all the other official spokesmen who plumped for the Truman administration's new arms bill at the hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week.

Acheson, followed by Defense Secretary Louis Johnson and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, minced no words to the effect that the arms pact was aimed openly and exclusively at the Soviet Union.

Acheson and his colleagues devoted the burden of their remarks to stigmatizing the USSR as an "aggressor nation." They also expanded at length on "hints" that acts of Soviet military aggression are just around the corner, if not already here.

"The fear is justified. The danger is real," Acheson emphasized over and over again, as did the brass hats who followed him.

Even Roosevelt, after his "quarantine the aggressors" speech which gave the signal for open preparations for U. S. entry into World War II, did not go to the lengths to which the Truman administration is today resorting.

To spur this war-urgency hysteria, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, immediately after they testified, demonstratively flew to Europe to take part in the first of a series of secret talks with their opposite numbers among the Western European top military chiefs.

A BLANK CHECK

Acheson did not hesitate to admit that the new arms bill went far beyond the scope of the North Atlantic treaty. Implementing that pact, Acheson coolly stated, "is not the problem with which we are now dealing." It was something that would be taken care of "later on."

The super-conservative financial daily, **Wall Street Journal**, July 26, characterized the bill as asking "Congress to abdicate its responsibility in foreign affairs and to give him [Truman] a blank check to apply United States military and economic force when and where he pleases."

It goes on to add:

"**The President thus avowedly jettisons the last remnant of the United Natjons; he openly professes that force and only force can preserve peace. And he demands that he, and only he, be entrusted with its preservation. This is a far more sweeping measure than even the bitterest foe of the Administration's foreign policy would have dared predict. It is not an arms program to implement the Atlantic Pact. It is an invitation to the President to rule the world.**"

But Acheson completely slurred over the unprecedented scope of the arms bill and the sweeping powers it invests in Truman's hands. Stressing that the administration would oppose any significant alterations in the proposed bill, Acheson harped on how "modest" the bill really was. "The program," he insisted," contains only those items which are clearly essential to the establishment of a minimum of defense — the minimum essential to the success of our efforts."

Defense Secretary Johnson solemnly chimed in that what the administration asked for was "the barest minimum essential." So did the top brass.

BRANDISH A-BOMB

Gen. Omar Bradley took the occasion to publicly brandish the atom bomb. The U. S and the U. S. alone, he announced, "will be charged with the strategic bombing. We have repeatedly recognized in this country that the first priority of the joint defense is our ability to deliver the atom bomb." A few days later the Atomic Energy Commission supplemented this by reporting

(Continued on page 2)

'COMPASS' EDITOR REFUSES TO PRINT SWP ANSWER TO HOWARD FAST'S LIES

By Farrell Dobbs

I don't know whether or not Ted O. Thackrey, editor of the N. Y. Daily Compass, is a member of the Communist Party, but I do know that he is not above doing their dirtiest chores for them. Thackrey has proved this to the hilt by publishing a slanderous attack by Howard Fast on the Socialist Workers Party, The Militant, James Kutcher and myself and then flatly refusing to print my reply to Fast.

No less incriminating is the fact that Thackrey committed this piece of yellow journalism in the service of the Stalinists on the eve of the Bill of Rights Conference, where the Communist Party members and fellow-travelers defeated a resolution calling for defense of the civil rights of Trotskyists.

Because of this action by Thackrey, the Compass was actually made to serve as a publicity instrument to help prevent the Bill of Rights Conference from defending the civil rights of opponents of the Communist Party.

RANK DISCRIMINATION

Thackrey gave Fast almost half a page in the July 11 **Compass** (five days before the Bill of Rights Conference) in which to attack the SWP. But when I wrote a point-by-point reply to Fast on July 13 and submitted it to the **Compass**, Thackrey declined to print it.

I pressed him to explain the reason for such political discrimination and denial of the most elementary principles of free speech and fair play. Thackrey refused to meet with me and through his secretary sent the alibi that the July 12 **Compass** had printed a letter by Michael Bartell, New York City Organizer of the SWP.

A FLIMSY ALIBI

But Bartell's letter had dealt exclusively with the events at another civil rights conference on June 25. Written ten days before Fast's letter was printed, it obviously was not and could not have been intended as a reply to Fast's slanderous accusations.

I called this fact to Thackrey's attention and repeated my request that the **Compass** print my answer to Fast, giving it equal prominence. Thackrey's only reply was: "Sorry, but I do not feel that publication of your July 13 letter is warranted."

While suppressing the views of the SWP, Thackrey has printed comments by other readers, in an obvious attempt to make it appear that he is allowing free debate over the disputed issues. But none of these letters answer the Stalinist lie that Trotskyists are "allies of fascism" and all of them criticize Fast's letter solely from the viewpoint that it is necessary to defend the civil rights of even fascists.

Such criticism, which does not reflect the position of the SWP, fails to challenge the central assumption of the Stalinist attack on the SWP and therefore can have no effect in clarifying the criminal character of their position, let alone in combatting it.

THACKREY'S PROMISE

In the very first issue of the **Compass** (May 16), Thackrey printed his "Editor's Creed", in which he deplored the fact that "We are becoming a nation which fears debate; which would suppress opposing views rather than refute them. . ." This same "Creed" ended with the promise by Thackrey that "We shall make no effort to suppress the voices of our opponents. . ."

By his refusal to print my reply to Fast, Thackrey has shown that he too "fears debate" and "would suppress opposing views rather than refute them" when he is helping the Stalinists do a slander job on the Trotskyists.

Catholic Church and Education

First of a Series by ART PREIS

— See Page 2 —

Jobless Millions Face Acute Want

While Congress debates the arming of reactionary governments all over the world, millions of unemployed American workers and their families are suffering acute want and misery.

The government which can find endless billions to feed the war machine has so far failed to appropriate one extra nickel to provide jobs or adequate unemployment compensation for the growing army of jobless victims of the capitalist profit system.

Government statistics, which are doctored to conceal the true conditions, admit there are now at least 4 million totally out of work and another 4 million reduced to 22 hours of work per week, or less.

The only federal assistance to the unemployed is in the form of unemployment insurance funds dispensed through the various state governments according to regulations set up by each individual state. About one-third of the present unemployed are denied any unemployment compensation because they did not work in "covered" occupations or because, under state laws, their unemployment is not considered the "fault" of the employers.

In many states, jobless insurance is denied to workers who refuse to accept "suitable" employment, such as scabbing on a strike or working in a non-union plant. They are refused benefits if they quit "voluntarily," even if the employer forces them to leave their job by imposing onerous conditions such as wage-cuts, speedup, hazards to health and safety, etc.

Over 100,000 unemployed a month, of those who have qualified for unemployment compensation, are now using up their benefits before finding jobs. No state allows benefits for more than 26 weeks and only 12 provide for that many weeks. More than half the states afford compensation for only 20 weeks or less. Within any given state, many workers, by reason of one restriction or another, are not allowed the maximum benefits.

The compensation the states provide the unemployed workers is in no instance better than a hunger income, sufficient to provide only a minimum subsistence over a brief period. The average benefit is about $20 a week per worker — equivalent at present price levels to only $10 a week in 1939, or two-thirds of a WPA laborer's "relief wage" in the depth of the depression.

The highest compensation paid by any state is $26, while two-fifths of the states pay a maximum of $20 or less. Picture the average worker's family of four trying to live today on even $26 a week! The Department of Agriculture says it takes $17 to $18 a week just for the bare minimum of required food. The Bureau of Labor Statistics figures the minimum decency budget at $65 a week.

These are some of the vital facts about present unemployment and the hardships of the workers presented in the current issue of the CIO Economic Outlook. The Outlook proposes a new national unemployment insurance law to provide benefits, administered by the federal government, of up to 52 weeks for all unemployed. These benefits would equal 60% of regular weekly earnings for a person without dependents, with additional sums for dependents up to 85% of regular earnings.

NOT THE WAY

Such a measure would represent a vast improvement over the present "states rights" unemployment insurance system. But even the best program is worthless without the program of action to put it over. On the question of organized action to win decent unemployment insurance, the CIO paper merely states that "all CIO members . . . should indicate to Congress their support" for the CIO proposals. If Congress doesn't act, then wait for the next elections.

Such a namby-pamby policy won't win anything. What is needed is a unified nation-wide program of militant action now.

Cardinal Spellman's Smokescreen

By Art Preis

When Cardinal Spellman accused Eleanor Roosevelt of acting from "misinformation, ignorance and prejudice" in her opposition to the use of public funds for religious schools, he was falsely attributing to her the very sins of which he himself is guilty.

Not only did he wrongly charge her with support of the Barden Bill for federal aid to public schools, but his whole argument against this bill, whose author he called a "disciple of bigotry," is based on a deliberate misrepresentation of its contents.

He claims the Barden bill would deny to 2,500,000 Catholic parochial school children "health and safety benefits" which it would provide public schol children. He even demagogically speaks in the name of the American Catholics who fought "on blood-soaked foreign fields" and berates Mrs. Roosevelt for wanting to "deny their children equal rights and benefits with other sects."

A FALSE ISSUE

Since Spellman claims he "had studied every phrase of the Barden Bill," he knows he is creating a false issue when he implies that the Barden Bill would provide federal funds for school lunches, transportation and health services for public school children, but forbid such payments for parochial school students. The Barden Bill, which is before the House Labor and Education Committee, prohibits the use of its proposed $300,000,000 fund for such services by all schools.

If there is any just complaint on this score, it is that the Barden Bill would deny these benefits to the more than 90% of school children who attend public schools, including more than half of all Catholic students, in order to avoid a clear-cut restriction on the use of public monies for so-called "auxiliary services" in private church schools.

PRESENT STATE LAWS

Moreover, passage of the Barden Bill would in no way affect the present status of this particular issue. In 19 states, parochial school students, along with public school children, receive public funds for transportation to and from school. In six states, they are supplied by public funds with general text books. The federal school lunch bill already provides free lunches for parochial students as well as public school pupils, and several hundred Catholic schools in New York City alone are maintaining such a lunch program with federal funds.

The U. S. Supreme Court, in two historic decisions, has breached that "wall of separation between Church and State," of which Thomas Jefferson spoke, to the extent of ruling as "constitutional" the use by state and local governments of public funds for transportation of parochial school children and for supplying them non-religious text books. The Supreme Court, however, did not make such use of public funds compulsory.

But what the Catholic hierarchy wants is a bill which would make it mandatory that federal funds be spent for "auxiliary services" in all Catholic schools. That is why the Catholic hierarchy is supporting the bill proposed by John E. Fogarty, Democratic Representative from Rhode Island, which would withhold a portion of federal educational funds from states whose laws restrict the use of public funds for school transportation, textbooks and health programs exclusively to publicly-controlled schools.

Thus, in his June 19 attack on Barden, Spellman declared: "We must oppose unequivocally any bill that fails to **guarantee at least non-religious text-books, bus rides and health services**" for parochial as well as public school children. The "guarantee" means obligatory expenditure of public funds for parochial schools. The "at least" means that the Cardinal wants more than funds for "texbooks, bus rides and health services," but makes this as a minimum demand at this time.

But is Cardinal Spellman really so solicitous about the safety and health of Catholic children as he pretends when he is using this issue as a wedge to open the public treasury to the church?

SAFETY AND HEALTH

The needs of Catholic workers' children were not considered when the Catholic hierarchy bitterly fought ratification by the states of the proposed Federal Child Labor amendment to the Constitution. The health and welfare of Catholic children — and of all children — are no concern of the Catholic hierarchy when it now viciously opposes even the mild National Health Insurance plan advocated by Truman. Indeed, the Catholic hierarchy has an unrelieved record of opposition to every type of socially-progressive legislation, including federal aid to education, which would provide government benefits under public regulation for the workers and their children.

And the Catholic workers themselves may well ask, as many of them undoubtedly do, whether a Prince of the Church who tried to starve out a group of striking Catholic cemetery workers, forced them to disaffiliate from the union of their choice and then smashed their strike with strike-breakers led by himself personally — whether a Cardinal who boasted publicly that "I am proud to be called a strikebreaker" is really concerned with the health of Catholic children or merely uses their needs as a pretext for getting his hands on public funds.

THE BARDEN BILL

There is a very real issue of discrimination involved in the Barden Bill — discrimination against a group of American school children approximately as large as the number of parochial school children — about which the Cardinal was silent in his attacks on Mrs. Roosevelt and Representative Barden.

The Barden Bill, as well as the Senate bill which would permit the states to use federal educational funds for "auxiliary services" in Catholic schools, would provide federal tax monies to states which segregate Negro children into separate, inferior schools and deny them equal educational opportunites and benefits with white children. The Cardinal complains about "anti-Catholic" discrimination, although the Barden Bill does not deny any Catholic child the right to attend any public school. But he has not been moved to make a similar complaint against not only the Barden Bill, but even the bills which the hierarchy itself supports, which would finance a system of brutal segregation and discrimination against millions of Negro children.

HIS REAL OBJECTION

If the issue of "safety and health" is a straw-man raised by the Cardinal, if he keeps silent about the actual issue of glaring discrimination against Negro children, what then is his real objection to the Barden Bill? It is the clause in the bill that says that the federal funds which it provides shall be used only for "tax-supported grade schools and high schools which are under public supervision and control."

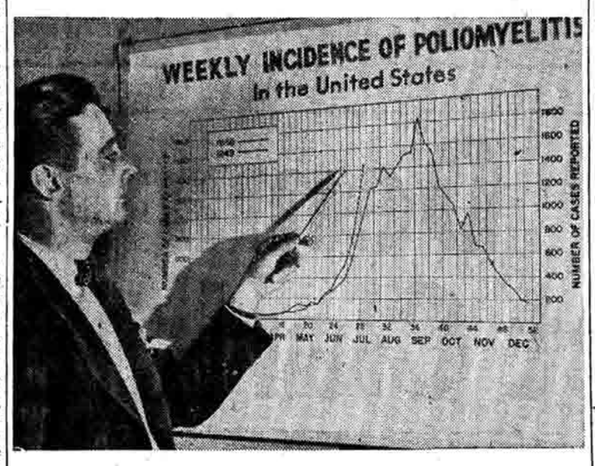
In his gutter-attack on Mrs. Roosevelt, however, Spellman tries to convey the false impression that what he is concerned with is merely a "bottle of milk to each child," "that all children should be protected from disease," etc. He even writes Mrs. Roosevelt: "You say you are against religious control of schools which are paid for by taxpayers' money. That is exactly what I, too, oppose."

At the same time, he raises the charge that "taxation without participation" is involved when tax monies, collected from non-Catholic and Catholic alike, are denied to Catholic non-public schools.

The Cardinal doesn't mention that by demanding public funds for Catholic schools he is demanding that the more than 90% of families who send their children to public schools should be forced to pay taxes to maintain private religious schools from which the overwhelming majority of children are debarred. This is "taxation without participation" with a vengeance.

The Catholic hierarchy is trying to destroy the democratic principle of absolute separation of church and state, to get government support for Catholic schools and to impose Catholic control over the public schools. As our next article will prove, these are the real aims of the Catholic hierarchy. The false issues raised by Spellman are a smoke-screen to conceal these objectives.

Polio Cases on the Increase



George P. Voss, epidemic coordinator for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, is shown in New York studying a polio incidence chart for 1949. Up to July 30 there were 8,299 cases this year as compared with 5,793 on that date last year. The government has billions to spend for war, but virtually nothing to combat this dread disease.

O. JOHN ROGGE BACKS TROTSKYISTS' RIGHTS

BROOKLYN, July 28 — O. John Rogge, speaking tonight before the Flatbush club of the Young Progressives of America, came out in defense of civil rights for James Kutcher and the 18 Socialist Workers Party victims of the Smith Act. Rogge, a former U. S. Assistant Attorney General, has acted as defense counsel in many recent civil rights cases, including the fight for the Trenton Six.

When Rogge finished, some Stalinists got up to repeat all of the usual slanders about the Trotskyists being fascists, scabs, etc. They were answered by other members of the audience who called attention to Farrell Dobbs' challenge to Howard Fast to submit these "charges" to an impartial Commission of Inquiry, and the incriminating silence of the Stalinists in the fact of this challenge.

It was also pointed out from the floor that the SWP supports all the Stalinist victims of the witch-hunt, and that it has offered the Communist Party a united front to fight the persecution of the Stalinist defendants at Foley Square — an offer which the CP refuses to even discuss.

As they always do on such occasions, the Stalinists by their attacks on the civil rights of the Trotskyists only succeeded in discrediting themselves and alienating support from everybody but hardened Stalinists.

Throughout the discussion Rogge correctly spoke up about the need to defend the Trotskyist victims of the witch-hunt, although he weakened his position by coupling it with arguments about the need to defend everyone, including the fascists.

Western Germany and The Western Powers

By Charles Hanley

On Aug. 14 the first elections will be held under the recently adopted constitution of the new federal state of Western Germany. This constitution is a revamped and "improved" edition of the Weimar Constitution of 1919. Capitalism remains in command as it did after World War I, and bourgeois democracy is no better a guarantee against fascism than it was then.

OVERRULED BY U. S.

The reconstruction of German capitalism is one of the main points in Washington's foreign policy: Western Germany is to become a bulwark (and future base for attack) against Soviet Russia. This policy appears as a contradiction to others sponsored by Washington, but capitalist politics is full of such contradictions. While Western Germany is getting Marshall Plan aid, for example, the dismantling of German factories has not yet stopped completely. On the whole, however, there is a fundamental tendency to strengthen, not to weaken Western German economy. The monetary reform of 1948 was intended to help German capitalism cope with inflation, and that's what it did.

The British Laborite Government would have liked some important German industries to be nationalized; they wished to collaborate with a board composed of German union bureaucrats and German capitalist representatives who would be willing to grant "reparations" to Britain and to safeguard British industries against German competition. Bankrupt French capitalism simply wanted to exclude German competition on the world market, pillage German factories, and prevent the reunification of Germany. **But these two weakened imperialisms were overruled by the United States, which is interested in rebuilding a German state.**

The German masses do not nurse many illusions about the new fake autonomy of Western Germany; nevertheless, they prefer a semi-independent Western German federal state to the previous setup. Under the former system of a military government dominating various German regions, there were no German central authorities at all and complete administrative anarchy paralyzed reconstruction and tormented the "man in the street" in his every-day life.

There are two big political parties in Western Germany; the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats. (The Stalinists, liberals, and neo-fascists are less important and we leave them aside for the moment.) The Christian Democrats are the party of the bourgeoisie and closely support American imperialism (in spite of occasional disputes). The Social Democratic leaders, although they are at the service of the imperialist camp too, have to consider the workers' opinions and feelings up to a certain point. **If they failed to do so, they would lose their hold on the working class. This explains why they sometimes stand up not only against Soviet policies, but also against measures taken by the Western powers.**

Indeed, the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and of the unions are often obliged, under direct pressure from the workers, to protest against the American policy of support to former Nazi and to German monopolies. U. S. support of the German trusts continues; the much-discussed anti-trust laws and decrees of the occupation authorities have never been enforced seriously and were never meant to be. The dismantling of German plants is of course opposed by the capitalist parties as well as the workers' organizaitons.

The Social Democratic representatives in the Bonn Parliamentary Council from time to time thus act as transmitters for the voice of the German working class. This assembly is not altogether useless; it provides a provisional tribune to the German masses.

WHAT IS AT STAKE

The workers of other countries ought to pay attention to the misery, sorrows, grievances and problems of their German fellow workers. At stake is the all-important issue of whether Western Germany shall become the offensive base of imperialism for World War III, or whether Germany shall become a member of a Socialist Union of European Peoples and her creative genius and productive power contribute to the peace and prosperity of a workers' world.

The imperialist and Stalinist occupiers do their best to prevent the German proletariat from coming to power. A Socialist Germany cannot be born while occupation troops remain on her soil. The German masses must be given an opportunity to abolish German capitalism, one of Wall Street's trustiest allies in Europe. That is why the workers of every country must call for the immediate withdrawal of all occupation troops — whether American, British, French or Russian.

ATOM-WAR HYSTERIA STIRRED UP AT HOUSE ARMS HEARINGS

(Continued from page 1)

successes in the mass production of super-bombs.

In passing, Bradley also promised that the initial manpower in the projected war of atomic annihilation will be supplied from abroad. He promised that "the core of the ground power in being will come from Europe, aided by other nations as they can mobilize."

The most forthright declaration in support of all-out war moves came from Senator McCarran, head of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee, who stated flatly "war [with the Soviet Union] is inevitable and the sooner we get ready for it, the better off we will be."

The Democratic senator from Nevada was only spelling out the gist of the arms bill and of the "testimony" and "pleas" of the Truman administration and its militarists.

"JUST A BEGINNING"

Gen. George C. Marshall, former Secretary of State under whom the current war drive was first launched, added his voice in favor of immediate passage of the arms bill. Agreeing with the administration's claims that its arms proposals were "modest," he added that the initial outlays were "just a beginning." He evaded answering questions concerning his own estimate of "Russia's attitude on the hot war."

There is an obvious hesitancy in Congress among some of the hitherto staunchest supporters of the bi-partisan foreign policy, of which the new arms bill is the logical culmination.

The unprecedented powers demanded by Truman have caused Senator Vandenberg, one of the co-architects of Washington's foreign policy, to shy away.

Vandenberg has reportedly protested "vehemently to Secretary Acheson that this was the greatest grant of power ever sought by a President in peacetime." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 3.)

Many other Senators have likewise been complaining that the bill "goes too far," it is "premature" and the like.

Senatorial hearings on the bill have been postponed until Aug. 8 in the hope of "conciliating" the growing Congressional opposition to the arms bill.

But this dispute relates to the form and not the essence of the matter. A "modified" arms bill acceptable to the Vandenbergs and the Taft would be in essence, if not in scope, identical with the measure now up for consideration.

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

Buffer Countries Cry Out Over the Economic Squeeze

The economic situation of the buffer zone countries in Eastern Europe continues to deteriorate to the point of catastrophe. Neither the ruthless purges of the Stalinist machine nor the totalitarian clamp-down on the population have been able to solve the crisis. The difficulties are so great that the satellite governments themselves are beginning to speak up publicly about them.

From Prague comes a report that Czechoslovakia's Ministry of Foreign Trade "recommended" to the Kremlin-dominated Council for Economic Mutual Assistance that it should "devise some means to paralyze the effects of the Marshall Plan by interfering in Marshall Plan countries."

This cryptic and puzzling request, reported by C. L. Sulzberger in the **N. Y. Times**, can only be understood as a cry of distress in the light of an alleged secret document made public by the same correspondent. This document purports to give details of a conference between representatives of the Foreign Trade Ministry and nationalized Czech companies.

Among other things, they complain that the U. S., by holding up export of mining and metallurgical machinery and equipment, is seriously affecting the output of the mines and foundries. Delivery of machine tools, ball-bearings and electrical equipment from Italy, Sweden and Switzerland has been slowed down under pressure from Washington. The same holds true for other vital materials.

Particularly interesting is the complaint that lack of lead, previously imported from Yugoslavia, is limiting production in some key plants and threatening exports to the USSR. As a result, the report is quoted, "mechanization cannot be realized as planned and instead of reducing physical effort, even more must be demanded from labor if the plan is to be fulfilled."

In Rumania, a Cabinet communique broadcast by the Bucharest radio stated that oil production, vital for the fuel supply of the Soviet Union as well as its Eastern European satellites, has reached only 68.5% of the plan envisaged, in spite of all the totalitarian pressure.

A round-up survey by the authoritative Royal Institute of International Affairs in London warned that the economies of Eastern Europe have been threatened seriously by "hasty" land reforms and attempts at industrialization, because of the lack of a material basis to implement these measures. **The survey pointed to the fact, for instance, that the Polish Government itself announced it was limiting this year's target to the organization of only 200 "cooperative" farms out of a total of 3,400 proposed by the country's economic plan.**

Stalinist "planning" in industry and "collectivization" on the land have had to remain a fiction as long as national barriers remain, as long as there is no over-all plan to utilize the resources of the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European countries, and — on the other hand — as long as there is no possibility for active commerce with the West.

The only results of the Stalinist measures, or rather half-measures, of "socialization" in Eastern Europe, under the circumstances, are the dislocation of the economy, with consequent super-exploitation of the workers under speed-up plans, and an antagonized peasantry.

Peasant revolts and the formation of guerrilla bands are already reported as a fact in Rumania. Hunger demonstrations of workers and unrest in the factories are likewise reported from time to time. The Western imperialist powers bank on a crack-up there that will permit them to penetrate the Iron Curtain once more. Kremlin policy is undoubtedly helping this objective. But the workers of Eastern Europe, in spite of the totalitarian regimes, will yet have their word to say in determining their own fate, against Western imperialism as well as against Stalinism.

THE MILITANT ARMY

July Shows Increase In Subscriptions To "The Militant"

Total subscriptions to **The Militant** during July showed an increase over June. In June the branches of the Socialist Workers Party chalked up 166 subs; in July 178. This increase is due to the closer attention a number of branches are paying to the important problem of increasing the circulation of America's leading socialist weekly.

New York's June subscription campaign was still registering returns in the first part of July. **Detroit's** campaign began lifting the score at the end of the month. **Los Angeles, Buffalo, Flint, Seattle, Minneapolis** and other branches worked fairly consistently throughout the month. The branch scores appear below.

Literature Agent **Shirley Mason** reports that **Ernie K.** and **Freddy R.** are leading in Detroit's subscription campaign with four points each. **Chuck** is pressing them with three points. One point is given for each six months subscription obtained for **The Militant** or **Fourth International**, the monthly theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism. Two points is rung up for a year's sub to either publication.

Flint did nicely with 11 subs for July on top of 11 for June. "Our campaign was a very modest one," writes Literature Agent **O. Daniels**, because of the small number of comrades and their lack of leisure time. "But we have persistently utilized every available minute in going out for subs and will continue to do so."

Seattle pulled up from one sub in June to 11 in July, which is "not a bad harvest" in the opinion of Literature Agent **Marianne Stanley**. She reports that the response to the Seattle subgetters "is not at all unfavorable, especially among the Negro people."

G.E.G. of the **Pittsburgh** area on renewing his subscription wrote us that he believes an investigation of the Roman Catholic penetration of the U. S. State Department would prove "revealing."

L. B. Courts of **Sharonville, Ohio**, a long-time reader of **The Militant**, considers that both the Republican and Democratic Parties are under "quite an obligation to the Catholic hierarchy" and that is why there is a concerted drive at present to "use the American taxpayer to pay for their schools."

Jack G. of **Seattle** sent in $2 with the following letter: "I want you to send me your fine workers paper for one year when my present subscription runs out. Please keep up the good work of letting the workers know what is going on in the world. Here's for socialism all over the world. Only then can the workers realize what they have been missing in this fine world of ours."

A letter from **A. G.** of **Los Angeles** was a most eloquent one, we thought. He enclosed $4 to renew his combination subscription to **The Militant** and **Fourth International** and an additional $6 as a contribution to help get out these two publications. Thanks a lot, **A.G.** It's contributions like this which keep us on the firing line.

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Detroit	24
Los Angeles	16
Buffalo	15
Flint	11
Seattle	11
Minneapolis	10
Newark	6
Philadelphia	6
St. Paul	6
Chicago	5
San Francisco	5
Milwaukee	4
St. Louis	4
Oakland	3
Youngstown	3
Boston	2
Toledo	2
Cleveland	1
Pittsburgh	1
Akron	0
Allentown	0
Lynn	0
Morgantown	0
New Britain	0
New Haven	0
Reading	0
Rochester	0
Worcester	0
General	15
TOTAL	178

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TROTSKY

"Stalinism. . . is not an abstraction of 'dictatorship,' but an immense bureaucratic reaction against the proletarian dictatorship in a backward and isolated country. The October Revolution abolished privileges, waged war against social inequality, replaced the bureaucracy with self-government of the toilers, abolished secret diplomacy, strove to render all social relationships completely transparent. Stalinism reestablished the most offensive forms of privileges, imbued inequality with a provocative character, strangled self-activity under police absolutism, transformed administration into a monopoly of the Kremlin oligarchy and regenerated the fetishism of power in forms that absolute monarchy dared not dream of."
— Leon Trotsky, Their Morals and Ours, 1938.

LENIN

The First to Face U. S. Arms

What will be done with the arms that Truman wants to send to "any nation" or "group" abroad that he sees fit? Here are some of the things already being done by governments financed and armed by the U. S.

British troops are used as strike-breakers against English dock workers.

French troops shoot down French coal miners and smash their strike.

Italian troops shoot striking Italian peasants and attack industrial strikes. Italian government police break up Protestant religious services and arrest Protestant ministers.

Australian troops are used as strike-breakers against the Australian coal miners.

Belgian troops, led by British officers, disperse workers in the British zone of Germany who demonstrate against the dismantling of plants and loss of jobs.

Greek monarchist troops execute Greek strikers under the death-penalty decree for strikes.

Portugese troops bulwark the regime of Dictator Salazar and guard the thousands of Portugese political and labor prisoners rotting on his dread prison islands.

British, French and Dutch troops — all U. S.-equipped — massacre the peoples of Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia.

Military cliques in Venezuela, Peru and other Latin American countries overthrow popularly-elected governments with American arms and institute dictatorships that bar strikes and unions.

Franco eagerly awaits passage of the foreign arms bill which he expects will strengthen his dictatorship that keeps a million Spaniards in prison or under continuous police surveillance.

Support of the foreign arms program is support of a program to prop up capitalist reaction and to murder strikers, opponents of dictatorship and colonial fighters for independence.

These are the first "aggressors" who will confront the weapons that Truman might send anywhere under the terms of his foreign arms bill.

Clark and Truman's Supporters

Truman's appointment of Tom C. Clark to the Supreme Court brings sharply to the fore the role and responsibility of the most prominent labor, liberal and minority organizations.

As everyone knows, their very existence depends on the preservation and extension of civil liberties. Formally all of them have taken cognizance of this, and have expressed themselves as opposed to the current assaults on civil rights.

The AFL at its convention last November went on record against the "loyalty" purge and asked Truman to withdraw the executive order which set this purge in motion. The CIO, which likewise held its convention last November, took similar action.

The ADA, a coalition of liberals and prominent labor officials, took the same position at its convention in April of last year. So did the NAACP, the largest Negro mass organization, at its convention last month.

It was the leaders of these organizations who threw their political support openly or tacitly behind Truman in the last presidential election. In fact, Truman owes his election to their backing. They, in turn, bear a major part of the responsibility for Truman's policies, in the first instance, in the field of civil rights.

Truman has given them his reply, not alone by his past actions but also by this act of appointing to the Supreme Court a man who is the very embodiment of the "loyalty" purges and the witch-hunts. To crown the insult, Clark happens to be a dyed-in-the-wool representative of the Southern Jim Crow forces and the chief government executor of strikebreaking by injunction.

How serious were the CIO, the AFL, the ADA and the NAACP about their opposition to the "loyalty" purge and their demand on Truman? Were they just talking for the record, giving lip-service to the struggle for civil rights? Or did they really mean what they said?

It is now squarely up to them to answer this in action. And the urgently indicated action is to vigorously oppose Clark's nomination at the Senate hearings Aug. 9. As we go to press, not a single one of the above-mentioned organizations has yet demanded from the Senate that it reject the nomination of this notorious enemy of the labor, Negro and liberal movements.

Steel Profits and Capitalist Parasitism

Even those of us who have long been aware of the staggering profits made by the United States Steel Corporation and the basic steel industry generally are astounded by the almost unbelievable profits figures revealed in their latest statements.

In the first six months of this year, U. S. Steel admitted raking in net profits after taxes of $94,052,265 — an increase of 76% over its record profits in the same period last year.

But even this doesn't tell the whole story. U. S. Steel's report hides another $35,000,000 of profits under "depreciation reserves" — a bookkeeping trick to make its profits look smaller by 25%. The company paid taxes on this "reserve" — which means that the government regards it as profits.

On the basis of present reduced materials costs and operating at 100% capacity, the steel industry could grant wage increases and pensions amounting to 30 cents an hour to every steel worker and still enjoy annual net profits of $966,600,000 as compared to the annual rate of $797,300,000 based on the 1949 first quarter take.

Since 1939, the output per worker per hour in the steel industry has increased 49.5%, while real wages — that is, wages in terms of actual buying power — have risen just 14.3%. In the same ten years, steel profits in terms of the same buying power have shot up 255.3%.

These figures, based on industry reports themselves, were cited last week before Truman's steel "fact-finding" board by Robert R. Nathan, former government economist, in support of the CIO Steel Workers demands for higher wages, a welfare fund and pensions.

They prove indisputably that the steel industry hasn't a leg to stand on in its arrogant refusal to meet the steelworkers' just demands. In fact, it could meet these demands, reduce steel prices and still make profits at its high war-time level.

But these facts about steel profits in this period of rising unemployment — and they mirror the kind of profits being made by the other monopolized basic industries — have an implication that goes beyond the immediate wage issue, vital as that is.

We can see in these fantastic profits the enormous parisitism, the insatiable greed of the monopoly owners. Each year they squeeze more and more out of the workers. Each year, in spite of the crumbs organized labor wrests from them, these monopolists bite deeper and deeper into the national income.

Why should labor, which creates all, continue to tolerate a system that permits the existence of such parasites? Why should labor, the overwhelming majority of the people, not end this intolerable drain on society by ending the profits system, expropriating the monopoly industries and establishing the planned system of socialism?

Debs and His Slanderers

By George Breitman

If the Stalinists were wise, they would scrupulously refrain from ever mentioning the name of Eugene V. Debs, whose memory stands as a rebuke to their repeated betrayals of the struggle for socialism. But having no shame, they speak and write about him frequently and even try to misappropriate for their own reactionary purposes the incorruptible tradition of the great pioneer socialist.

Their latest attempt at such a theft is occasioned by the publication of Ray Ginger's first-rate biography of Debs, **The Bending Cross**, reviewed here last week. Writing about this book in the July 7 Daily Worker, David Carpenter concludes:

"A reading of this biography of Debs makes it clear that it is the Communist Party which is carrying forward to an ever higher level the struggle for the abolition of capitalism which was initiated by working-class forces in the heyday of American capitalism, who saw even then that the workers could not achieve a decent life until they established socialism in the United States."

But a reading of Ginger's biography makes clear just the opposite of this contention.

THE CONTRAST ON WAR

After all, what was the one thing about Debs that is most honored today if it isn't the courageous stand he took against World War I? What is the Debs tradition if it isn't a consistent struggle against imperialist war despite persecution, vilification and imprisonment? That is just what the Stalinists basely betrayed in World War II.

Lenin, in his **Letter to American Workers**, hailed Debs for saying that he "would rather be shot than vote for loans for the present criminal and reactionary imperialist war; that he, Debs, knows of only one holy, and from the standpoint of the proletariat, legal war, namely: the war against the capitalists, the war for the liberation of mankind from wage slavery!"

But the Stalinists, acting in the interests of a reactionary labor bureaucracy of the kind Lenin and Debs fought all their lives, not only supported the war loans, appropriations and taxes in the second criminal and reactionary imperialist war, but they took the lead in breaking strikes, curbing the Negro struggle and fomenting lynch hysteria against all militant workers and anti-war fighters.

If Debs had lived long enough to oppose World War II, the Daily Worker would have been howling for his arrest and applauding his conviction, as they did in the case of the 18 Trotskyists in the Minneapolis trial of 1941.

Another of Debs' great services, perhaps not so well remembered today as his anti-war fight but at the time deeply appreciated by workers in all wings of the labor movement, was his leadership and unceasing activity in the struggle for the preservation of civil liberties. Mention any of the famous labor defense cases from the time he entered the socialist movement until he died — Moyer and Haywood, the McNamara brothers, Tom Mooney, the IWW and other victims of the wartime and postwar raids, Sacco and Vanzetti, just to recall a few — and always Debs was on the firing line, giving unsparingly of his time and resources for their defense.

Even the anti-war lecture tour which culminated in the famous speech at Canton was entered on by Debs with the intention of challenging the wartime attacks on free speech and free press by the Wilson administration. It is to Debs, as much as any other figure, that we are indebted for the noble tradition of solidarity in defense of all tendencies in the labor movement, no matter what political views are held by the workers under the attack of the class enemy.

CP AND CIVIL RIGHTS

What a far, far cry from the behavior of the Stalinists, not only in the Soviet Union where they have completely destroyed workers democracy but here in the United States where they themselves are a persecuted minority.

As I. F. Stone aptly put it, they "taint" the struggle for civil rights, including the protection of their own, by denying such rights to their working class opponents. They have made themselves odious in the eyes of decent workingmen and women everywhere by their savage attacks on James Kutcher, the legless victim of Truman's purge, and by their demands that civil rights movements reject defense of the Trotskyists or face disruption and calumny by the Stalinists.

In short, there is no more truth to the Stalinist claim that they are carrying forward the struggle begun by Debs and his fellow pioneers than to their pretense that they are heirs and continuators of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

An equally offensive review of this biography was the one written in the July 17 N. Y. Times by Sidney Hook. A Social Democrat, whose ideas the capitalist press is always willing to give space to these days, Hook has no more in common with the Debs tradition than the Stalinists do — and a lot more in common with the Stalinists than either he or they are willing to acknowledge. **(Both, for example, were supporters of the second imperialist war; and both are opponents of the fight for civil rights for all tendencies in the labor and liberal movements — the Stalinists seeking to deny them to the Trotskyists, and Hook taking the "ideological" leadership of the movement to drive Stalinist teachers out of the schools.)**

Like many other detractors of Debs who pose as his admirers, Hook damns him with faint praise. He stresses Debs' personal qualities but divorces them from his political contributions, and he exaggerates Debs' weaknesses in order to deny his real significance in the development of the American socialist movement. This is the standard Social Democratic approach to Debs — hail him for his "saintly" character but warn rebellious workers against following in his political path.

DEBS AS LEADER

Debs, he concedes, was a great human being, he was a fighter; he was endowed with purity of intent, intellectual as well as physical courage, and a "great and simple heart." But, he hastens to add, Debs "lacked certain qualities necessary for enduring influence on mankind," his ideas had a "crude and derivative character," and Ginger is wrong in calling him the "political leader of American socialism" in his time because he was "never the brains of the party." Furthermore, "Anyone who sees America's choice — as Debs did — as one between the 'complete freedom' of socialism and the 'total slavery' of capitalism understands neither modern socialism nor modern capitalism."

Here Hook is trying to uphold the claim that the reformists like Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit were the theoretical superiors of Debs. But these people (who liked to picture Debs as an ignorant orator) betrayed the most fundamental principles of Marxism, while Debs stood firmly by his principles and refused to be intimidated or corrupted into abandoning them. **The proof of a political leader's theoretical competence lies in the actions that flow from his theory, and the way that Debs met the supreme test of war signifies that from the viewpoint of socialism he was a thousand times greater than all the Bergers, Hillquits and their modern counterparts put together.**

"DERIVATIVE IDEAS"

Hook's arrogance in sneering at the "derivative" character of Debs' ideas is truly something to marvel at. Unlike Debs, Hook had an opportunity to study the full body of Marxist teachings; unlike Debs, he had a chance to acquaint himself with the rise and degeneration of the first workers' state and to learn of the contributions of Russian Bolshevism, the first movement in history to show how a revolutionary party could be built. Despite these advantages, all of Hook's ideas are borrowed from the capitalist ideology that he used to attack back in the depression days when middle class intellectuals were dabbling with Marxism. **The difference between the ideas of a Debs and a Hook is that the former, despite the handicaps imposed by his background and the period he lived in, "derived" his ideas from the realities of the class struggle and the needs of the working class, while the latter, despite his "finesse" in the realm of "theory," shamelessly adapted himself to the requirements of the ruling class. It is for these reasons that Debs will be remembered as "an enduring influence on mankind" for centuries after the Hillquits and Hooks have been forgotten forever.**

WHAT HOOK PRAISES

Since Hook's aim is to divert his readers from the path of Debs, it is not surprising that he concludes his review by singling out Debs' weakest side for his greatest "praise": "Debs' most precious legacy to the American people may turn out to be his refusal to make a cult of leadership." Debs' attitude to the duties of revolutionary leadership was a negative one, as our article last week indicated. He stood aside from most of the party's factional struggles, and did not even attend conventions where the leadership was elected. The result was that the reformist leaders were able to consolidate greater control of the party, which they then used to ruin it as a revolutionary organization.

The history of American socialism might have been different, and the revolutionary movement stronger today, if Debs had acted differently. For Hook, this major mistake of Debs becomes a laudable "refusal to make a cult of leadership." **How happy the Hooks, Murrays and Greens as well as the Trumans and Clarks would be if the revolutionary workers would take a similarly abstentionist attitude toward the crucial question of leadership in the labor movement today!**

Hook's review and the attitude of his fellow Social Democrats to Debs remind us forcibly of the opening lines of Lenin's great work, **State and Revolution:**

ADULTERATORS

"What is now happening to Marx's doctrine has, in the course of history, often happened to the doctrines of other revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes have visited relentless persecution on them and received their teaching with the most savage hostility, the most furious hatred, the most ruthless campaign of lies and slanders. After their death, attempts are made to turn them into harmless icons, canonize them, and surround their names with a certain halo for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping them, while at the same time emasculating and vulgarizing the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge. At the present time, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the labor movement are cooperating in this work of adulterating Marxism. They omit, obliterate, and distort the revolutionary side of its teachings, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is, or seems, acceptable to the bourgeoisie."

What the Social Democrats did to Marx and what the Stalinists did to Lenin in this way, both the Social Democrats and Stalinists, each after their own fashion, are now trying to do to Debs.

Why the Stalinists Are Afraid To Face Commission of Inquiry

On July 13 Farrell Dobbs publicly challenged Howard Fast to submit to an impartial Commission of Inquiry the slanderous charges against the Socialist Workers Party which Fast had printed in a letter in the July 11 Daily Compass. On July 16 and 17, when other Stalinists repeated these charges at the Bill of Rights Conference, Dobbs again called for the establishment of such a commission, to be composed of leading figures in the labor and liberal movements who would investigate the charges and render a verdict on them.

To date, neither Howard Fast nor the Daily Worker has mentioned this challenge, let alone answered it. In this and succeeding issues of The Militant, we will show why.

In 1941 the Smith Act, now being used against the Communist Party leaders in New York, was first used in the Minneapolis Trial, in which 18 SWP leaders were convicted and sent to jail. Hundreds of organizations representing millions of members protested this conviction as an assault on civil liberties and supported the defendants' demand for a presidential pardon to restore their civil rights. Explaining in the Compass why he and the Stalinists oppose the SWP's pardon campaign, Fast used the following argument:

"The Trotskyites were accused of sowing dissension among the American Armed Forces at a time when this country was facing the full threat of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. This, then, is not a case of civil liberties. Any country at war assumes the right to defend itself against its enemies, those outside of its borders and those within its borders."

As Dobbs pointed out in his reply to Fast, this is an extremely dangerous line of reasoning. All the government has to do is charge the Stalinists with "conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence" (as it is doing) and then it can argue (along Fast's lines) that the prosecution "is not a case of civil liberties."

Or, in case of war, the government can accuse all those who opposed entry into war of being its "enemies," and quote Fast as the authority for locking such people up.

Besides fashioning reactionary weapons for the government, Fast's statement contains a number of implied and explicit falsifications.

He implies that the government, in addition to accusing the Trotskyists of "sowing dissension" in the armed forces, also proved that this had happened. Actually, the jury totally disregarded this charge and convicted the 18 SWP defendants solely for their advocacy of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

He also implies that this charge was made against the Trotskyists in wartime. That is the only possible meaning which can be attached to his phrase: "at a time when this country was facing the full threat of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy," especially when two sentences later he is talking about "any country at war. . ." But it will also be noted that he does not give any date.

VITAL STATISTICS

Since he is reluctant to use dates, we will have to supply them for him. The order for the indictment of the Trotskyists in Minneapolis was handed down by President Roosevelt on June 13, 1941.

That was almost six months before the U. S. declared war on Japan and Germany.

It was also nine days before the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

In other words, the indictment was ordered by Roosevelt at a time when the Communist Party was denouncing Roosevelt as a warmonger and opposing U. S. entry into the imperialist war.

Nine days later Hitler and Stalin changed the CP's line and the Stalinists began to demand that the U. S. get into the war without a moment's delay. The SWP refused to betray the anti-war struggle in this way and continued to express its opposition to the war throughout its duration.

Meanwhile the Department of Justice and the FBI were busy carrying out Roosevelt's order. On June 27 FBI agents raided SWP headquarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul and seized the "evidence" they wanted — works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and other publicly-sold SWP literature. On June 30 a grand jury was convened to study this "evidence."

On July 15, almost five months before Pearl Harbor, the indictment was handed down. On Oct. 27 the trial began. The jury handed down its verdict on Dec. 1 The judge set sentence on the defendants on Dec. 8, at almost the same minute that Congress was declaring war.

EASILY ESTABLISHED

These facts, which are well known to the Stalinists, were confirmed by Professor Thomas I. Emerson, the eminent legal authority of Yale Law School, in his speech at the Bill of Rights Conference last month. But the Stalinists continue to proclaim their own crooked version of the events.

Our emphasis on these points of fact does not mean that we believe civil liberties and free speech should operate only in peacetime. On the contrary, we fight for their full recognition in wartime as well. But the truth is that the 18 defendants were not convicted at a time when the U. S. was in war, and that while the war was on, the government, even though it continued to harass us because of our political opposition to the war, did not dare to bring us to court on another trumped-up charge of "sowing dissension in the armed forces."

And one reason why the Stalinists are afraid to face an impartial Commission of Inquiry is that the truth about this charge, like all their other charges against us, can be so easily established.

Visit your local headquarters of the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON — 4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. every afternoon 1 to 4 p. m. Meetings Sunday 2 p. m.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center. 30 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 628 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—166 W. Washington Blvd. Rm. 312-314. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for an appointment.

CLEVELAND — Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun., 8 p.m.

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.

FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.

LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — For information write P. O. Box No. 659 or phone 3-3287.

NEW HAVEN—For information telephone 7-8780.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149.

HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion. Friday, 8 p.m.

BRONX—Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Blvd; Room 25. Every Fri. night at 8:30 p.m.

BROOKLYN — Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.

CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2488.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information, phone TEmplebar 2-8153 or TEmplebar 2-3735, or write P. Montauk, 906-B Cypress St., Oakland 7.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5829. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p.m.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.

ST. LOUIS — "For information, phone PR 5305."

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore.

TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting. Fourth Tuesday, 8 p.m., Kapps' Hall, 413 Summit, Room 2.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P.O. Box 554, Worcester.

YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

THE MILITANT

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"Tighten Our Belts"

By Joseph Keller

Just before disembarking in New York last week from a three-week vacation in England and France, the multi-millionaire Wall Street speculator and "elder statesman" of U. S. imperialism, Bernard Baruch, gave a press interview aboard the luxury super-liner Queen Mary.

"I don't agree with those who say there will be a slump in the country," opined Baruch. But, he genially added: "If we lose some money, we'll just tighten our belts and go ahead as we have before."

If "we" lose "some money" — that is, go into a serious depression — whose belt is going to be tightened? Certainly not Mr. Baruch's. On his millions, he, his children and his children's children would not have to make another dime and they'd still be able to fill their bellies with the finest food and drink every day of their lives.

How quick the plutocrats like Baruch are to speak of "tightening belts" as an answer to depression. Only those who see before them an endless vista of richly-laden tables, who have never missed a meal except from indigestion due to over-eating, whose only problem with belts is to get them big enough, can speak of "tightening belts" with the lightmindedness of a Baruch.

How nice it would be for the Baruchs of this world, if unemployed and hungry workers could satisfy their craving for food simply by pulling in their belts another notch. How unfortunate that the human body succumbs to starvation before the last possible notch can be reached, or, what is far worse from Baruch's standpoint, that workers might rise up to put an end to the social causes of their misery rather than lie down without protest and die.

It is quite true that for the Baruchs a depression means only "losing some money." But for the worker out of a job it means seeing his wife and kids grow pale and weak and sick, seeing them shivering in the cold of winter without proper clothes, seeing them sit in the rain amid their few poor sticks of furniture after the bailiffs drive them out for non-payment of rent.

How far removed is the capitalist mind from the needs and feelings of the mass of people, how cold and indifferent to human misery. And how useless to appeal to any sense of humanity, to any social consciousness in a ruling class whose spokesmen, like Baruch, can glibly speak of appeasing hunger by "tightening OUR belts."

There ought to bealaw against anyone who tells the hungry and needy to "tighten our belts." They ought to be locked up for the rest of their lives on a diet of one medium-sized potato and a pint of water a day. And in their cell there ought to be a neon sign, in red, saying: "Keep Pulling!"

Socialized Medicine VIII

Insurance for the Doctor

By Grace Carlson

In their frenzied attacks upon the British National Health Service and upon the National Health Insurance Program recently discussed in the United States Congress, the American Medical Association bureaucrats laud **voluntary** health insurance programs. It was not always so!

In 1932, when a national committee on costs of medical care advocated prepayment plans, group practice and other reforms, the Journal of the AMA insisted that the adoption of these recommendations would lead to "socialism, communism and revolution." When the Blue Cross plan, now so highly praised by the AMA, was being launched in the Thirties by the American Hospital Association, the AMA Journal conducted a furious campaign against it.

Public pressure in favor of better health programs forced the AMA to capitulate in its opposition to voluntary insurance plans. In the main, however, AMA support of such voluntary insurance plans as Blue Cross, Blue Shield, etc., has been given in order to prevent more adequate public health programs from being carried through. But, AMA officials have also come to realize that health insurance is insurance for the doctor as well as for the patient.

Many of the AMA's state societies have established their own prepayment medical plans. These Blue Shield plans now operate in 42 states and cover a total of about 10,000,000 subscribers and their dependents. The Blue Cross hospital insurance organizations now have a total enrollment of about 31,000,000.

Together with those enrolled under commercial insurance prepayment policies or in cooperative insurance groups, some 55,000,000 Americans are now covered by some hospital cost plan and 37,000,000 by some medical or surgical insurance plan. But some 90,000,000 have no medical or hospital coverage at all — and, of those enrolled in medical prepayment plans, only a very small percentage receive full coverage.

As Dr. Richman, director of the St. Louis Labor Health Institute and a long-time advocate of compulsory insurance, has pointed out, none of the insurance plans provides for a complete program of health care for workers and their families. All of these plans have strict limitations — age limits, no provision for cases of chronic illness, time limits on hospital care, etc.

Dr. Richman's words on the inadequacies of the Blue Cross voluntary insurance program deserve special attention now that workers are being bombarded with AMA propaganda about it:

"This fast-growing movement, which bills itself as a non-profit organization has reached the point where it now holds a virtual monopoly over hospital services and facilities. There is little consumer control or labor representation. There are the usual limitations in fine print. Labor unions find out to their sorrow that their members are only half-way protected. . . The Blue Cross like so many plans is insurance, and frequently worthless insurance at that, rather than a plan for service."

The Five Per-Centers

Every once in a while the capitalist politicians in Washington, who annually hand out billions in profits to the war industries, decide to throw up a little smokescreen about war corruption and profiteering.

A scandal involving some small-fry war contractor or minor government agent is "investigated." Some Congressional committee makes headlines, some obscure scapegoat is sometimes sent to prison.

The latest of these scandals has coined the phrase, "five per centers." They are individuals who sell their "influence" in government agencies to small business firms to secure government contracts. In the first case reported by the Senate investigating committee, the fee was 5% of the amount of the contract — hence the term "five per center."

It goes without saying that every grafter and chiseler who could get the fare to Washington during the war tried to get his fingers into the war contracts gravy bowl. With the government pouring out hundreds of billions of dollars, a clever and crooked operator could manage to pick up a few drops.

But the big war profiteers — the ones that dealt not in thousands of dollars but in billions — didn't need to pull a lot of tricks. They didn't need to buy "influence." General Motors, Du Pont, Standard Oil, Aluminum Corporation of America, U. S. Steel — they virtually wrote and handed out their own contracts.

All the giant corporations and monopolies had their own hand-picked "dollar-a-year men" running the war production agencies and drawing up the war contracts. Everything — or almost everything — was done strictly "legal." And if the corporations raked in an acknowledged 50 billions of war profits in the last world slaughter, that was just the reward for their "patriotism."

Naturally, the American people are apt to look with disfavor on a "patriotism" that rewards so few with so much. Some are even wondering whether the war wasn't inspired and conducted just for the sake of such profitable "rewards." And not a few are speculating about how much the "patriotism" of the corporations will cost the American people in the war now in preparation.

That's why the government "makes an example" now and then of some chicken-feed war grafter. It looks like Washington is on its toes to halt war profiteering. We are supposed to be assured by this that in the next war — as Roosevelt promised before the last one — there will be no "war millionaires."

We have no tears to shed for any "five per centers" who are forced to take the rap — although we don't expect that more than a few, if any, will actually wind up behind prison bars. But the big crooks and profiteers are the ones we're after.

We advocate the only program that will end the war profiteering and eliminate the war leeches, big and small, for good. We urge the wage-earners and dirt farmers of America to establish a Workers and Farmers Government that will nationalize all the basic industries, including the war industries, and operate them on a cooperative, non-profit basis under workers control.

This program, we guarantee, will not only end war profiteering; it will end the profit system that breeds war itself.

Notes from the News

DOES IT AGAIN — Judge Alexander Holtzoff, who upheld the constitutionality of the government's "loyalty" purge in June when he ruled against an appeal by 26 postal employees, has done it again in rejecting Dorothy Bailey's suit for reinstatement to the job in the U. S. Employment Service from which she was purged as "disloyal" last year.

* * *

CLASS DISTINCTIONS — Chronic illness lasts longer and is three times more frequent among low income families than among those with high incomes.

* * *

BEN FLETCHER DIES — Ben Fletcher, veteran IWW organizer, died in Brooklyn last month. He joined the IWW 41 years ago at the age of 18 and played a prominent role as organizer and speaker in many of its struggles. In 1917, along with Big Bill Haywood and 99 other IWW members, he was indicted in Chicago on charges of conspiracy to violate the Espionage and Selective Service Acts. Ben got a 10 year term in prison, which was commuted in 1923, and he remained active in the IWW until recently when his heart began to ail.

* * *

HIDDEN TAXES — The Tax Foundation reports that it has found 116 hidden federal and state taxes on a man's summer suit. Local taxes were not included.

* * *

OBER ACT CHALLENGED — Three Quaker women employed by the state of Maryland have refused to sign the "loyalty" oaths required by the thought-control Ober Act on the ground that the act is contrary to the Bill of Rights and "objectionable on religious grounds, in that it denies the brotherhood of man." Pending a court test of the act's constitutionality, they will not be dismissed.

* * *

MELISH CASE APPEAL — The dismissal of the Rev. Dr. John Howard Melish from his post as rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn will be appealed to the general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in San Francisco next month. Melish was removed because he would not fire his son and assistant for his "outside activities." The case is also being appealed in the courts.

* * *

QUILL BOOED — Although the New York bus drivers booed President Michael Quill for urging acceptance of Mayor O'Dwyer's demand that they return to work on the basis of pre-strike conditions, they voted to go back.

N.Y. Socialist Workers Party Enters Slate in City Election

New York SWP Slate

MICHAEL BARTELL
for Mayor

HARRY RING
for Controller

GLADYS BARKER
for Council President

NEW YORK, Aug. 4 — The Socialist Workers Party today announced its entry into the municipal election campaign with candidates for the four major offices, running on a platform that offers the voters of New York a working class alternative to the capitalist political machine that holds the city in its grip.

The four SWP candidates are:

Michael Bartell for Mayor.

Harry Ring for Controller.

Gladys Barker for President of City Council.

Harold Robbins for President of the Borough of Manhattan.

Michael Bartell fired the opening shot of the SWP campaign in a statement assailing the conditions that exist in the nation's largest and richest city.

"What is the picture in New York today?" he asked. "A half million unemployed walk the sidewalks, and their number is growing. Vast, overcrowded, vermin-infested slums are a national scandal and new housing lags far behind the city's needs, while workers vainly look for jobs.

RAMPANT BIAS

"Discrimination is not only tolerated but fostered by the city administration. Negro and Puerto Rican people are Jim Crowed in housing, in jobs, in education. Millions of dollars are extorted from the poor in sales taxes, yet the lily-white Stuyvesant Town housing project gets tax-exemptions to the tune of 50 million dollars. Race-hating, anti-Semitic instructors like Knickerbocker and Davis are protected at City College, while those suspected of liberalism are fired from their jobs.

"The nation-wide witch-hunt is abetted by O'Dwyer and Tammany. The arch-reactionary Catholic hierarchy reaches out for totalitarian domination over every sphere of the city's life; it hand-picks a college president, it bans periodicals and books from the public schools, and with support in 'high places' of city politics, it breaks strikes and tries to capture the labor movement with the priest-dominated ACTU.

"The right even to life itself for the Negro and Puerto Rican people is violated. Fascist-minded police subject them to sadistic physical attacks and outright murder without fear of punishment."

THREE BIG ISSUES

The New York picture is part and parcel of the national problems, Bartell explained. Here, as everywhere, the three big issues facing the people are the threat of another depression, a total blackout of democratic rights, and another world war.

"This triple threat of capitalism will be the central issue in our campaign," Bartell said. "The heart of this rotting system of capitalism is Wall Street, which runs City Hall as its private property.

"In the past 16 years we have seen changes from Democratic-Tammany to Republican-Fusion and back again, from Walker to La Guardia to O'Dwyer. But nothing really changes except the label. The monopolists, profits hogs, speculators, rent gougers and Park Avenue parasites have continued to rob the people, break strikes, and oppress the minorities without hindrance.

"Big Business, united behind the Democrats and Republicans, has had its own way because the New York workers are still politically unorganized.

"The American Labor Party, which supported O'Dwyer in 1945, is running Vito Marcantonio for Mayor this year. The ALP is not a genuine labor party either by virtue of its compositon or its program. As a result of the unprincipled split in that party and the disillusionment of the workers with its activities, only the small segment of trade unions dominated by the Stalinists support it today.

MINOR PARTIES

"The ALP is neither based on nor controlled by the trade union movement of New York. Under the influence of the Communist Party, it has been tied to the flimsy kite of the Wallace third-capitalist Progressive Party. Its so-called 'independence' from the old capitalist parties would vanish the day a 'deal' was made by Moscow and Washington. Wallace himself publicly proclaims that he is 'against war' today, but will support Wall Street 'if war comes.'

"The Liberal Party of Dubinsky and the Social Democrats, supporting Newbold Morris, plays just as treacherous a role in destroying the movement for independent labor political action. Today as in 1945, the Liberal Party is the tail of the Republican elephant.

"The Socialist Workers Party alone calls for the formation of a genuine independent party of labor, just as we are the only political party which calls for a genuine united front civil rights movement to defend **all** victims of the witch-hunt."

TESTED FIGHTERS

The four candidates of the SWP are tested fighters for the working class. Michael Bartell, New York City organizer of the SWP, rose to national prominence two years ago as initiator of the defense committee that won freedom for James Hickman, a Negro worker charged with murdering his landlord.

Harry Ring, candidate for Controller, is a former shop steward of CIO United Auto Workers Local 511, and for five years served as secretary of the Workers Alliance in Essex County, N. J.

Gladys Barker, running for President of City Council, is a young factory worker and a leading member of the militant Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants' Association.

Harold Robbins, candidate for President of the Borough of Manhattan, is a veteran of World War II, former City Housing Director of the American Veterans Committee, and today an active member of Local 848, Painters Union District 9 (AFL).

A minimum of 7,500 signatures on nominating petitions is required to place the four candidates on the ballot. Last day for filing petitions is Sept. 16. Readers of **The Militant** can secure petitions to circulate among their friends by visiting or writing to: the SWP City Election Committee, 116 University Place, New York 3.

Witch-Hunt Inquisition at AFL Convention in N. Y.

Are you or have you ever been a Communist? Are you or have you ever been a member of any subversive group advocating overthrow of the Government? Have you been called on to sign the non-Communist affidavits required by the Taft-Hartley Law, and have you done so? What is your opinion of President Truman's executive order concerning the loyalty pledge? Does your union contribute financially or give moral support to any Communist-front organizations? What is your opinion of the trial of the eleven Communists in New York?

No, these are not the inquisitorial questions hurled at some victim before the House Un-American Witch-Hunt Committee. They are not taken from FBI records of an "investigation" of some government worker under Truman's "loyalty" purge. They are a few of the many similar questions which the elected delegates to the New York State Federation of Labor (AFL) had to answer last week to the satisfaction of a credentials committee, handpicked by the bureaucratic leaders, before they could be "cleared" and seated.

The immediate intent of this inquisition was to ferret out and eliminate in advance any duly-elected delegate who at any time in his life had ever had the slightest leanings towards the Communist Party or to any other organization or cause in which **the Stalinists have ever played** a role. But to carry out their political feud with their Stalinist opposition, the AFL leaders employed the methods of the totalitarians, including the Stalinists themselves.

Through these methods borrowed from the thought-controllers—from Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Franco, on down to our home-grown Attorney General Tom Clark — the reactionary New York AFL leaders sought to insure themselves in advance against any voice of criticism or opposition, to intimidate the delegate and to deny seating to those who might have a "seditious" and 'disloyal" attitude toward the top bureaucracy.

Some delegates who ran the third-degree gauntlet safely dared to object to the use of the question on the Tafft-Hartley Act, cited above, and similar questions. Federation President Thomas A. Murray answered that "some time in dealing with crafty, under-cover men, sent into your organization to do worse than the Taft-Hartley Law, we have to use the law to purge these people from our unions."

Murray didn't say just what would be "worse" than a law drafted by the open-shoppers to smash strikes through injunctions, ban the closed shop and undermine union security, subject the unions to ruinous employer "damage" suits and give the employers scores of other deadly weapons to maim, gut and destroy organized labor. But a close study of union bureaucrats like Murray indicates that "worse" **than anything in their minds is** any kind of internal union opposition that even remotely threatens their control and the emoluments and privileges thereof.

Nor was Murray talking about FBI and police stoolpigeons, company spies, finks, scabs and strikebreakers when he spoke about "crafty, undercover agents." They could pass his "examination" with a perfect score. They welcome such methods — that's one of the things they try to introduce into unions all the time. And they willingly swear ten times over on a stack of Bibles their loyalty to the capitalist government, the State Department, the FBI — and the union bureaucrats.

Not just the Stalinists, but the real union militants and fighters against the Taft-Hartley Act, the sincere defenders of civil rights and trade union democracy — these are the ones who would be "flunked" by such "test questions."

No genuine opponent of the Taft-Hartley Act would uphold the Taft-Hartley oaths or insist that union leaders take them. No genuine defender of civil liberties would uphold Truman's "loyalty" purge. Yet any delegate at the New York AFL convention who didn't indicate by his answers to the credentials committee questions that he supported the Taft-Hartley oath, the government "loyalty" purge and political blacklist, the frame-up trials of political dissidents, etc., faced disbarment from the convention.

Commenting on the convention, the Aug. 3 N. Y. Times said: "In many respects the questions asked by the credentials committee went far beyond the inquiries employed in federal and state loyalty codes." When we consider that such "codes" are products of the most anti-labor reactionary elements, we can see to what anti-democratic depths the N. Y. AFL leaders sank at their convention. It is union leaders like these who are the most dangerous of the "crafty, undercover agents" of capitalist reaction inside the union movement.

Why the Communist Party Persecutes Warren Billings

(Continued from Page 1)

of capitalist persecution. The great movement which eventually liberated Mooney and Billings was founded upon this principle. Enduring infamy would have been the reward for anyone who dared sit in judgment over the political convictions of these class war prisoners as the price of supporting their defense.

This principle was as much a part of Billing's bone and fibre as is his loyalty to the working class for which he had already paid with his liberty. He asked one question only: was the person involved a victim of capitalist justice? He supported the 18 Minneapolis victims of the Smith Act, the Trotskyist James Kutcher, the "dissident" Stalinist Vern Smith, and all others persecuted since his release from Folsom prison.

For the Stalinist leaders, however, adherence to this principle is a crime. Our readers already know how the Stalinists sabotage the defense of James Kutcher, how they hailed the conviction of the 18 Trotskyists in Minneapolis, and how they wrecked the Bill of Rights Conference as an organizing center for the struggle for democratic rights rather than see it endorse a pardon for the 18. Even while they are victimized by Clark's witch-hunt, the Stalinists continue a witch-hunt of their own.

Billings was a target of this Stalinist witch-hunt. He was charged with aiding an opponent of the Communist Party even as Attorney General Clark charges his victims with aiding opponents of the Truman administration. He was convicted without trial or hearing in the same manner as convictions are made by government loyalty boards. His "crime" is "guilt by association" with persons on the Communist Party "subversive list." His punishment is loss of his livelihood in San Francisco even as Kutcher and the other government employees have been deprived of their means of livelihood.

The Stalinists have not dared to publicly lie about Billings as they have lied about Kutcher and the Trotskyists: that Billings is a helper to fascists. But this is implicit in their unspeakable villainy and in the punishment they have meted to Billings.

Hang your heads in shame, you unregenerate scoundrels! It was not enough that you aided in the prosecution of the Trotskyists, thus helping to establish the anti-labor Smith Act as a legal precedent against all political minorities, including yourselves. It was not enough that you have denied support to James Kutcher and thus given objective support to the government purge. You had to single out for chastisement a man who has endeared himself to every militant in the labor movement, to every fighter for human rights in every corner of the world. The working class will not soon forget your bottomless ignominy. And we will see that they do not forget it!

Fewer Holding Out

Last week the CIO United Steelworkers and the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers both decided to comply with the non-communist oath provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. That leaves only the United Electrical and Fur Workers unions in the CIO still refusing to comply.

PAUL KERN SUPPORTS JIM KUTCHER

NEW YORK — Paul J. Kern, liberal lawyer and chairman of the recent Bill of Rights Conference, has taken a strong stand in defense of James Kutcher, legless veteran purged from the VA because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

In a letter to Farrell Dobbs on July 28, Mr. Kern wrote:

"On the Kutcher case, I regard it as an outrage that the President's Loyalty Order should be applied, as it is, to deprive public employees of their right to express political opinions. Thought control of the public service is the first step toward Fascism.

"The President's Loyalty Order, as I see it, deprives the employee of the right of cross examination, the right to make a defense, or even the right in some instances to know the charges against him. It also indicts him for associations which are not even named in the charges or revealed to the employee at his trial. It is about as total a throwback to the Star Chamber as anything in American history.

"No one but an ignorant man like Mr. Truman, who is utterly out of touch with the background of American political freedom, could have promulgated such an indecent doctrine. It exalts rumor and hearsay to the level of evidence and employs private spying and personal gossip as a criterion for the selection and retention of public employees.

"These observations apply to the Kutcher case as well as to almost all the other cases brought under the President's so-called Loyalty Order."

In regard to the Minneapolis Trial, in which 18 Trotskyists were convicted under the Smith Act, Mr. Kern wrote: "I think I made my view clear that I agree precisely with the term of Mr. Henry Wallace's letter to you. . . "

Wallace's letter to Dobbs, dated Sept. 21, 1948, stated: "It is apparent that the defendants in the Minneapolis case were not convicted on the basis of any acts of violence or intimidation but solely by reason of their expression of political views and opinions." Wallace also said: "I fully support the restoration of their civil rights to the defendants in this case."

At the Bill of Rights Conference the Stalinists attacked this view viciously. Kern opposed the Stalinist position and urged the conference "not to discriminate against any victim of the Smith Act."